

Appeal to Reason. Its opportunity for instituting the present prosecution turned upon peculiar circumstances. Certain socialists of Denver, Colorado, had been lawlessly kidnaped and "rail-roaded" to Idaho, where they were put upon trial for a murder of which every one of them was acquitted after years had elapsed. Meanwhile efforts were made to hold the kidnapers to account; but the courts refused relief, and President Roosevelt gave wide currency to the thought that the kidnaping of such "undesirable citizens" as those then unconvicted and subsequently acquitted socialists, was quite the right sort of thing to do. Thereupon the Appeal to Reason decided upon a little goring of the other ox. If it was quite the thing to kidnap socialistic labor leaders in their home State, for trial for murder in a distant State not their own, why not kidnap a Republican political leader in a distant State not his own, for trial for murder in the State that was his own. So reasoned the Appeal to Reason, and surely not without rationality. Now, it so happened that there was just such a case all ready to hand. A Republican Governor of Kentucky had absconded to Indiana under charges of murdering his Democratic successor-elect. For this alleged murder he was indicted in his own State, and custody of his person was duly demanded for trial by the Governor of Kentucky of the Governor of Indiana. But the Governor of Indiana, a Republican, refused to deliver his fellow partisan, the fugitive. These being the facts, the Appeal to Reason offered a reward for the kidnaping of this fugitive Republican (after the manner of the kidnaping of the Denver socialists) and his return to Kentucky for trial. The offer of the reward, with full explanation of the circumstances that had inspired it, was enclosed in an envelope, on the outside of which the amount, purpose and condition of the reward and the name of the person to be kidnaped and delivered to the proper authorities of his home State, were briefly printed. Because his offer of that reward was so exposed, the editor of the Appeal to Reason, Mr. Warren, was indicted, and has been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. He had libeled the fugitive in question—so ran the formal accusation—by denouncing him as under indictment for murder, and had done so by exposing the libel on the outside of mail matter.

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That the prosecution and conviction of Mr. Warren were not in good faith, is evident from a single fact. There are corroborating facts, but this one alone is conclusive. We allude to the

fact that postal cards offering rewards for fugitives from justice are common in the mails, and no one is ever prosecuted for mailing them. Yet they are as distinctly criminal under the postal law as was the Appeal to Reason's offending envelope, if that kind of thing is criminal at all. Not only was this prosecution in bad faith, but it was ordered from Washington, and against the advice of the local prosecuting office. To be sure, a court has sustained the prosecution; but what does that prove when the very Federal authority at Washington which ordered the prosecution controls the appointment of Federal judges? To be sure, also, a jury has convicted; but what does that prove when the very Federal authority at Washington which ordered the prosecution controls the appointment of the Federal officials who select Federal jurymen? Clearly, the case against the Appeal to Reason is another in the growing list of cases which testify to an advancing postal censorship. It is further proof of the development of a great centralized movement of the party in power and the Interests behind it, to utilize postal laws and regulations for destroying the liberty of the radical press.

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"BIG BUSINESS," LABOR UNIONS, AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

I

Readers outside of Chicago may think they have no interest in the election last week of its president by the Chicago Board of Education. To them it may seem that the subject is one of personal interest only, and only to the candidates and their supporters; or, at most, that it is of local concern alone.

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In a way, but only in a way, that view of the matter is right.

Mr. Urion, who was elected, is an ambitious little man, and to him the victory is one which conventionally demands of personages of his type that they "buy the champagne for the crowd."

Mr. Schneider also, the president whom Mr. Urion defeated for re-election, is a man of ambition (though his is ambition of a more scholarly cast), and to him the defeat is personal and saturated with bitterness.

And, indeed, Mr. Schneider's case naturally excites sympathy.

Although he had amiably given himself over, along with his political and social "crowd," to the service of Big Business, his native instincts and

scholarly training interfered with his rendering that whole-hearted and single-minded service which Big Business demands and which his successor, Mr. Urion, is fitted both by instinct and training to give.

This difference between the two men, which defeated the one and elected the other, lends to the subject more than personal interest and makes it of wider than local concern.

Wherever there is a public school system, a labor union, and a Big Business aggregation, the deposition of Mr. Schneider as president of the Chicago school board by the election of Mr. Urion, cannot be ignored, personal and local as the event may seem at first blush to be. The local eruption is significant of national subterranean commotion.

In every industrial center as well as in Chicago Big Business is making a move, more or less class-conscious, to use the public schools for destroying labor unionism by swamping the trades with specialized workers, and to this end among others is seeking complete control of public education. Of that purpose the Chicago school board's election of its president is a local manifestation—personal and petty also if you please, as well as personal and local, but interesting and significant for all of that.

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Since, then, this is a local symptom of a national purpose, let us present the circumstances a little more definitely, reserving for the moment any consideration of the good or the evil of the purpose itself.

II

The Chicago Board of Education is now composed wholly of appointees of Mayor Busse, who was elected by a natural affiliation (vol. x, p. 1) of Big Business interests and hoodlum politics. Big Business had definite motives for electing him, and these included absolute domination of the Chicago public school system.

That object has now been apparently secured.

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The new president of the school board is the general counsel of Armour and Co. (of the beef trust), who is flanked by the president of the glue trust, which is to the beef trust as a branch to a tree.

The energy and skill of the combination is supplied by a high official in the steel trust, a man of commanding faculties, of untiring zeal, of limitless resource, and of unbroken fidelity to Big Business ethics.

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad

company supplies the lego-intellectual balance in the person of its general counsel, a lawyer of broad legal acquirements of the older philosophical as well as the more modern empirical kind, a man of old-fashioned ethics that seem to groan and cry out in agony under the unescapable pressure of Big Business ethics, and a corporation servant who from the very nature of that employment is necessarily always on duty.

In three of those four representatives on the Chicago school board, Big Business has an almost irresistible force.

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An effort to make it quite irresistible by reducing the membership of the board, was frustrated by the legislature.

Even as it is, however, "harmony" demands that the other members shall submit to these three, for the three must not submit to the others on any important question in dispute—such as the election of a president, the choice of a superintendent, the selection of sources of school-book supplies, the intimidation and subjection of teachers and principals, or the introduction, when the hour is ripe, of apprentice trade-schools for the purpose of undermining trade unions with a constant supply of strike breakers.

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Nor is it likely that there will be any outbreak in the board against these Big Business leaders. Besides the four named above, several members, enough to make up a comfortable majority, are minor representatives of Big Business in varying degrees, who will answer to the Big Business roll call. There are still other members, who will come in out of the storm whenever heavy-weather signals are run up.

And then there are the newspapers of high degree—the Tribune and the News with school-land graft, and influenced also, along with others, by irreducible Big Business obligations through State street advertising or machine politics,—all of them ready on call to applaud the public spirit of school board members who line up with the Big Business "crowd," and to villify those who disturb the "harmony" of the board by obstructing Big Business schemes.

The Chicago Board of Education seems to be well enough equipped with Big Business representatives, from highest to lowest, to secure for Big Business all it desires in the administration of the public schools.

III.

The objects of this concentration upon the

public schools cannot be described in minute detail. In Chicago as elsewhere only tendencies are as yet within the field of observation.

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Judging from the past, however, the primary consideration with Big Business in Chicago is the selection of a superintendent who will administer the local educational system in accordance with factory ideals—the superintendent a factory manager, the principals foremen, the teachers journeymen, the pupils a factory product. And as in Chicago, so in other cities of the United States.

Collaterally, the school book trust appears to be an object of favorable consideration. At any rate the majority of the Chicago school board, at the last meeting before its reorganization with none but Busse appointees, deliberately remained away so that there should be no quorum for the discussion of the school book investigation reports then pending, and at the first meeting of the perfected Busse board, when “discordant” members had been weeded out, this subject was disposed of by the adoption without discussion of a “whitewash” report. And it is indeed quite natural that the school book trust should be favorably considered by a Big Business school board. For the school book trust is itself an important part of Big Business. As a business monopoly it is of great magnitude. As an educational concern it controls the National Educational Association from within; while round about, it numbers among its employes and grateful dependents the choicest Big Business superintendents of schools in the nation.

But above all other present considerations, except as they may be necessary to this one, is the purpose of Big Business to utilize the public schools in comprehensive ways for baffling organized labor. The idea was suggested to Big Business by the use of the Chicago Teachers’ Federation made of labor organizations in its campaign against tax dodging corporations, whereby this body added a quarter of a million dollars annually to the school treasury. Unsupported by any civic organization, bitterly fought by all the elements that make up or add strength to the membership of those organizations, villified by the newspapers and denounced by the school authorities, this teachers’ organization was on the verge of disaster in that tax fight, when it went to the Chicago Federation of Labor for aid, and got it and won by it. This triumphant affiliation of the teachers with the labor unions revealed possibilities of power which Big Business was quick to recognize

—quicker than either teachers or labor unions,—and a crusade has consequently been made by Big Business in the open against the teachers, and under the surface against the labor unions.

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The latter crusade has appealed strongly to a sentiment which is not confined to Big Business, but ramifies all business. We refer to the class sentiment against labor unions which prevails among employers generally. With the advantage of this widespread support, Big Business aims to make the public schools an engine for the total destruction of the organized labor movement.

It aims also at stratifying classes, so that a condition resembling status will develop in which men will find themselves pretty firmly fixed for life in the industrial and social stations or spheres in which they are born. But this is only incidental, and at most but an ideal. The immediate practical object in view is to make public school children skillful in phases of trades, so that the supply of narrowly specialized laborers will so completely and constantly exceed the demand that factories may be “closed” against union labor and all workers be forced to make contracts of hire individually instead of collectively.

This purpose is not specifically declared in public, which would be bad tactics. The declared purpose is to train public school pupils for competency to gain a livelihood in an industrial age; and the current phrase is, “industrial education.” But private disclosures and evident tendencies reveal unmistakably that the underlying purpose is death to labor unions.

IV.

We do not believe that this plan would work the disaster to organized labor which Big Business hopes for and labor unions fear.

On the contrary, we should expect that the turning of the public schools into supply stations for strike breakers would make organized labor much more powerful—in the long run, and not a very long run either—than it is today.

It might, indeed, be its salvation.

For organized labor needs better tactics than it uses now in its struggle for a decent livelihood for the hired-man class; and out of this Big Business perversion of the public schools, the needed tactics might evolve.

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Labor unions cannot survive by means of the strike. Unless better labor tactics do evolve, the hired-man class must sink into a condition of

hopeless servitude. There might come to a few, as to the Negro overseer of half a century ago, sordid prizes apportioned to the degree of the prize winner's inhumanity. But for the great mass, analogous to the slave gangs, there would be exhausting toil for bare subsistence, relieved only with memories of disappointed hopes, and maintained by the terrors of disemployment in place of the agonies of the lash.

The fact that organized labor cannot survive by means of the strike is palpable, whether the reason for it be understood or not. But evidently the reason is that strikes are battles in which all the effective weapons are on the other side.

Labor strikes may yet be won, as they have been, against unprivileged business men, who are as truly workers as the men they hire. For these, when they lack the cooperation of Big Business, are as destitute of modern weapons as the strikers themselves.

But against Big Business the labor strike cannot win a lasting victory, and the time seems near at hand when it cannot win at all. A labor strike which Big Business resists, is like a battle to the death between ably-generated soldiers equipped with rapid-fire guns, and unfortressed savages with bows and spears, or against a mob with sheath knives and brickbats. If the strike becomes a riot, all the forces at the command of society are and must be brought to bear against it. If strikers resort to secret acts of violence, all the forces of society are and must be used to ferret out the perpetrators and to punish them as criminals. If the strike remains passive, a little extra pay, temporarily, will secure strike breakers enough to wear out the strikers and drive them in desperation to intolerable breaches of the peace or the commission of revolting crimes. At its best, a strike against Big Business pits impoverished workers against luxury-bursting captains of industry, in an unequal contest of endurance.

Turn the subject over in any way you can, still there is no escape from the conclusion that the labor strike cannot prevail against Big Business. And fear of strikes, once so effective, is no longer potent.

Before labor organizations can cope with Big Business, they must revise their tactics from the ground up; something which the turning of the public schools into supply stations for strikebreakers might lead them into doing. For this perversion of the public schools would furnish an object lesson which only the stupidest could ignore. Both within and without the ranks of organized labor,

all those superficial persons who think that intensive training in factory work would raise wages, would be enlightened—rudely to be sure, but effectually. They would learn from bitter experience that wages are high or low, not according to the productiveness of the workers, but according to the supply of workers relatively to the supply of working opportunities.

This is already understood by many labor unionists, and realized by many more. Trade union tactics are based upon it. Labor strikes, restrictions upon apprentices, and most if not all the other tactics, both industrial and political, of labor organizations, proceed in accordance with that theory. The theory is true, but its lesson is overlooked in labor union tactics.

It is a lesson, however, which could not long be overlooked if the public schools were turned into supply stations for strike-breakers. Not only would the growing supply of strike-breakers demonstrate to every one the theory that the prime factor in forcing wages down is excess of workers relatively to working opportunities, but the best way of overcoming the tendency to that excess would be apt to come plainly into view.

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At present, organized labor attempts to overcome the tendency to excess of workers over working opportunities by checking the supply of workers. In this mistaken policy it would be completely and consciously baffled by an overwhelming output of strike-breakers from the public schools. The whole labor world, organized or unorganized, would then have to turn toward the only alternative, which is the true policy. Instead of any longer vainly trying to check the supply of workers, organized labor could reasonably be expected to reverse its tactics and try to increase working opportunities.

Along that line organized labor could win against Big Business,—could win at every angle and permanently, regardless of the output of strike-breakers from the public schools or anywhere else. Let the supply of opportunities for work be kept in excess of the supply of workers, and there would be no strike-breakers in the labor market.

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For this reason among others, we see no serious menace to labor unionism in the Big Business program for turning the public schools of the country into stations for strike-breakers. Labor union interests would not be thereby imperilled.

V.

But what of the public interests? What of American citizenship? Can men and women who are truly patriotic afford to relegate these considerations to the tender mercies of Big Business?

If the class-purposed public school schemes of Big Business are carried out, the class lines that are even now all too visible in this Republic, and the class enmities that are becoming all too snobbish on the one side and bitter on the other, will be perpetuated and progressively emphasized. Instead of the earlier tendency toward a republic of political fellow citizens and industrial fellow workers, we shall have an intensification of the present tendency toward an oligarchy of a few masters with a nation of servants and toadies.



The Big Business schemes for our public schools do not contemplate industrial education, much as this seductive phrase is upon the tongues of their educator scouts and in the columns of their newspapers.

If the purpose really were industrial education, that would put a different phase upon the whole matter. Industrial education in the public schools would be greatly to the advantage even of the labor unions; for it would vastly swell their ranks with workers deeply stirred by the iniquities of Big Business adjustments, and well qualified both to probe the problem to its roots and to meet Big Business with effective labor tactics. And it would be of untold advantage to society as a whole; for in turning out a growing army of really efficient workers, it would also elevate the general citizenship to higher and higher levels.

But a higher general level of citizenship is above all things else what Big Business does not want. Its power in the Republic depends upon a low general level. The hoodlumism of politics is as necessary to Big Business as it was to the spoils system. Trusts need machine politicians, and machine politicians need ignorant, sordid, indifferent and frivolous masses in the citizenship. Big Business must keep down the general level of citizenship in politics, even as it must narrow the spheres of skill in industry. Munkacsy's great picture of "Christ Before Pilate" illustrates the natural affiliation of Big Business and hoodlumism in all places and all ages. The artist's fat pharisee and his yelling hoodlum are typical. Nothing could be more surely fatal to Big Business than improvement in general citizenship, and such improvement would doubtless result from genuine industrial education on a large scale.

Not for Big Business is the education that would fit public school pupils for intelligent and efficient work in the trades, as law schools fit lawyers and medical schools fit physicians for professional life. To give to the great army of boys who pass through our public schools that knowledge of tools and tool processes, that control of trained hand by trained mind, and that insight into industrial methods, which an able industrial educator has rightly placed among the essentials of industrial education—none of this is within the purview of the Big Business scheme for "industrial education" in the public schools. For a few pupils, yes; but for the many, no.

What Big Business aims at in its proposed perversion of the public school system, is to transform public school pupils into brain-deadened and heart-fagged feeders of the factory machine. It aims to make them skillful in mere machine attendance, to give them limited industrial skill instead of an elementary industrial education, to qualify them not for a trade but for some of the almost automatic functions of a trade.

There is reason, of course, in the incidental objections offered by Big Business to industrial education for culture. This is like legal education for culture, or a Chautauqua course for culture, or anything else only for culture; it is divorced from the serious pursuits of life. Big Business representatives are right in arguing that industrial education in the public schools ought to be intimately related to life pursuits, and in therefore advocating trade schools in our public schools. But their idea of a trade school is wrong. Trade schools are not trade schools unless they teach a trade, and a "stunt" is not a trade.



It is skill at some endlessly repetitional "stunt" or other, and not all-round elementary intelligence and efficiency in an industrial trade, that Big Business needs and that Big Business seeks. The manifest purpose of Big Business—indeed, its almost absolute necessity—is a horde of machine tenders, skillful at a factory "stunt" or two, and therefore available as strike-breakers.

VI.

This purpose of Big Business has no geographical limitations, but is coextensive with the whole country. Saturated with sordid patriotism it follows the flag.

Sometimes it comes to the surface locally in one way in one place, and again in another way in another place. Talk with courageous educators in Milwaukee, and you detect its presence there;

in Minneapolis, and it is there; in San Francisco, and it is there; in New York, and it is there; in Boston, and it is there; in Philadelphia, and it is there; in Cincinnati, and it is there; in Washington, and it is there.

Chicago has been a storm center ever since Big Business was successfully resisted in its tax dodging. Its school-land grafting, its school book performances, its factoryizing of school administration and consequent demoralization of the teaching force, its brazen violation of the plain law of the State in order to disrupt a hostile school board, its suppression of board records upon false pretenses and in the face of the law in order to hide conduct that would not bear the light, and its policy of turning the public schools into factories for the production of strike-breakers and the further degradation of citizenship, are all in line with a Big Business policy which happens for the moment to be especially manifest in this one locality, but is in process of development everywhere.

The latest of these manifestations in Chicago—least important, perhaps, but singularly significant,—was the deposition of Mr. Schneider from the presidency of the school board, by the election, without obvious reason other than his Big Business affiliations, of one of the principal lawyers of the beef trust.

By means of a combination of the beef trust with the steel trust and a large railway centering in Chicago, all represented most ably in the Chicago Board of Education, Mr. Schneider has been duly punished for half-hearted loyalty and inefficient service to Big Business.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.®

Week ending Tuesday, July 20, 1909.

The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

In anticipation of the adoption of the Schmidt traction ordinance (p. 679) at the referendum in Cleveland on the 3d of August, articles of incorporation of the Cleveland Traction Co. were sent to Columbus on the 13th and the incorporation was completed on the 15th. This company is to take over all the Schmidt franchises. It is

organized with a capital stock of \$10,000, and the incorporators named are Herman Schmidt, Otto Leisy, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Arthur F. May, and ex-Judge James Lawrence, counsel for Mr. Schmidt. The stock is to be increased to \$2,500,000 if the referendum carries.

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Copies in full of Mr. Schmidt's notification of his purpose with reference to original investor in the old low fare lines, whose interests were secured by the "gentleman's agreement," which the monopoly managers acknowledge but refuse to execute, are at hand. He proposes "to protect the interests of those who have put their money into the building of the Forest City lines, and those who invested in the Cleveland Railway Company stock through the Municipal Traction Company," in such way as to give them all the protection within his power without divesting them of any strength of position they now have. To this end he intends "to bring about the organization of a corporation to be named the Cleveland Traction Company, and to assign to it all the street railroad rights" which he has secured, and to offer to the investors indicated above the option of depositing their "shares with Otto Leisy, D. C. Westenhaver, and Charles W. Stage, as trustees," upon certain conditions, to be stated in a certificate to be issued by the trustees to those who avail themselves of the option, upon delivery of their stock, endorsed in blank to the trustees. Under these conditions the depositor may (1) withdraw his deposited stock at any time; or (2) in lieu thereof, and share for share, may take stock of the new corporation, the Cleveland Traction Company, which Mr. Schmidt deposits with the trustees; (3) to the extent of the depositors' withdrawal, an equal number of shares of the corresponding stock not withdrawn goes to the new company; (4) the new company has the right to buy the old stock at \$110 per share with accrued interest from October 1, 1908, and upon tender of this rate, if not accepted, may withdraw either kind of stock at its discretion, leaving the other kind to the disposal of the depositor; (5) if the depositor accepts the tender, then he must take the money and turn over both kinds of stock to the new company; (6) while the stock remains in the hands of the trustees they have voting power on both kinds; (7) dividends are meanwhile to be paid to the stockholder as soon as collected; (8) the trustees are empowered at any time at the request of the Cleveland Traction Company, to use the old stock on deposit with them for payment to the Cleveland Railway Company for restoration of the property of the Forest City company, in which case the acquired Forest City stock is to be held by the trustees for the benefit of the depositor. The object of this arrangement is to secure these depositors the full